[721] collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its [183] members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as [537] ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ĵednãẽ ỹõdegãẽ kakonʔẽ ordnʔẽ ỹalaųrĩẽnʔẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. [292] Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods [535] of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

[187]

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

[622] is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he [756] exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The [789] arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

[197]

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*hôatz*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tsadru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

10| The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungú or amungçú, which means "woman's milk"--a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of umtaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

341 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [538] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

1 [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analysis]

7:Roquette-Pinto--42 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of Brazilian Indian Psychology]." Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria, Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio de Janeiro, 1917).

237 301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (608)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia," [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"....

41! 324 726 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the function of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

7:Roquette-Pinto--43A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

535

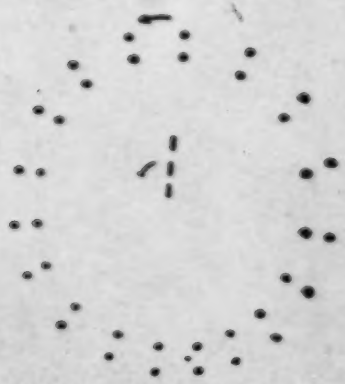

Fig. 43. (Astrolatrous?)
Tagnani dance (diagram).

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnanî-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[521] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 [511] The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.